
UNIT 1 DEFINING HUMAN SECURITY

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Human security refers to the security of a person or group of persons. Human beings need security to live, work and develop. The concept of security developed with the concept of power and relations between individuals and communities. The idea was to create safety for a community from physical attacks by others. The evolution of the nation state coincided with the development of concepts of state security linked to specific territories. The idea of securing individuals in general has been in existence for a long time since the Habeas Corpus (1679) and Bill of Rights (1689) that sought to protect the security of a person and provided him the right of petition and the right to individual liberty. However, the concept of security of the state has been given priority to that of the individual. It is only in the last few decades that the belief in conferring on individuals more freedom, dignity and rights as part of the security concept has witnessed paradigmatic shifts. A study of the evolution and process of human security seeks to provide such a significant study of the rights and dignity and protection of an individual who collectively becomes a part of the human society.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to:

- trace the evolution of the concept of human security.
- examine the scope of the application of the concept.
- identify the significance of the concept for the welfare of the disadvantaged sections of the society.

1.2 THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY

The earlier concept of security of individual and nation was rooted in the concept of sovereignty. The security of citizens was secured by promoting state or national security. It has been traditionally assumed that if a state is secure then its citizens will be secure since security will trickle down to the citizens. Such a security is achieved by securing the elements of the state. This security covers people living in the geographical boundary of the state and protecting the frontiers of the state securing both territorial integrity and security of the state. People are also protected as a group or collectively by protecting them from external threats and by investing for their development which in turn promotes national security. The government undertakes the responsibility of protection of state power or sovereignty. When sovereignty is ensured and enforced, the state security is automatically ensured. The state activities to develop the territory, including the infrastructure and people, ensure the development of the whole society.

1.2.1 Shift to ‘people-centered’ concept

The Second World War and subsequent deliberations in various UN-based conferences brought out the limitations of state or national sovereignty-based security and the need for protecting people’s lives. Subsequent discussions on human rights led the United Nations General Assembly to adopt the ‘Universal Declaration on Human Rights’ that called for safeguarding the rights of the people and protecting them in various ways to ensure a good life for the people. The declaration adopted on 10th December, 1948 states at the end of its Preamble that the United Nations General Assembly:

“Proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the people’s of territories under their jurisdiction.”

These human rights are stated to be valid universally and eternally and get strengthened more and more as time passes. However the implementation of these rights is heavily dependent on states and the international community can do little when these rights are violated. These rights underwent extensive and in depth discussions during the 1993 UN Conference on Human Rights at Vienna. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted on 25th June 1993 states clearly, among other things, that:

“The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms the solemn commitment of all states to fulfill their obligations to promote universal respect for, and observance and protection of, all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, other instruments relating to human rights, and international law. The universal nature of these rights and freedoms is beyond question.

In this framework, enhancement of international cooperation in the field of human rights is essential for the full achievement of the purposes of the United Nations.

Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings; their protection and promotion is the first responsibility of the governments.”

A significant contribution to the human rights movement was made by the President of the USA, Franklin D. Roosevelt who in his address to the Nation in 1941 outlined four essential freedoms stating that “we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

‘The first is freedom of speech and expression – everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way – everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want – which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings that will secure to every nation a healthy peace-time life for its inhabitants – everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which translated in into world terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such thorough fashion that no nation would be able to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour – anywhere in the world.’

President Roosevelt wanted these to be achieved not in a distant millennium but in the immediate future. This vision “is a definite basis for a world attainable in our own time and generation.”

Today, human rights occupy extensive human space and cover vast aspects of human life and society. Numerous international standards, procedures, institutions including NGOs exist to uphold and promote human rights. Here the issue is of rights calling for measures that promote human security, like Right to Food. Such rights strengthen human security,

1.2.2 Human Rights Approach to Development and Security

In the earlier section, the focus was on rights and security of **people**. Here the focus is on human rights approach towards development and security that is part of the broad concept of human security. In fact human security, as it is discussed today, was less known till recently. But development policies were made more and more equitable and purposive with the ‘human rights’ touch. International institutions like the United Nations advocated intensively the human rights approach which can ensure that development is not just an economic phenomenon. It has other dimensions like social, cultural, civil, political and psychological which get inadequate attention while treating development purely as an economic phenomenon. Human rights approach takes into consideration such non-economic aspects also. Thus human rights demand a pattern of development that promotes human security. For example, right to a minimum education ensures that poor

people achieve some knowledge that may enable them to earn a living and thus offer some human security. Thus the paradigm of human development is in strong contrast to that which equates just high growth to development.

Thus the human rights approach to development ensures a balanced and integrated societal development that goes a long way to achieving human security. The advocates of human development like the UNDP stimulate balanced development by insisting on conditions like observance of human rights and equity as opposed to growth that leads to great inequality between classes and people. For example, the human rights approach demands that project-affected people (PAPs) are properly compensated and rehabilitated so that development of the areas includes them and their families. Similar are the cases of labour exploitation and of gender discrimination issues. It also helps developmental agencies in planning and promoting a more holistic development that ensures human security. Such development outcomes protect the vulnerable sections of the society and promote human security. It also ensures that the developmental process does not overlook welfare and equity considerations that are reflected in the human rights and their observance in development administration.

1.2.3 Modern Concept of Human Security

During 1990s, especially as the Cold War ended, it became clear that the traditional concept of security was not enough to accommodate human welfare, especially the emancipation of poor, marginalised sections and disadvantaged groups. It was realised that the human rights approach should be reinforced with developmental measures and security of the people across the globe. It was clearly understood that people-centred security or human security is essential for national, regional and global stability. What was needed was a multi-dimensional concept of human security that covered human development, international relations, strategic studies and human rights. In this context the UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report (HDR 1994) was a milestone which highlighted the need for 'human security' to fight global insecurities haunting people, especially the poor, marginalised and disadvantaged.

The HDR 1994 has brought out convincingly the need for the 'human security' concept and its operationalisation. It also introduced the concept of 'sustainable human development'. It was highlighted that the world can never be at peace unless the people have security in their daily life. It warned that future conflicts may often be within a nation rather than between them, with their origin buried deep in a growing socio-economic disparities and deprivation. It points out that the search for security in such a nation lies in development and not arms. It suggested that we must seek a new concept of 'sustainable human development' that can satisfy the expanding frontiers of the human security. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, and security from crime – these are the emerging concerns of the human security all over the world.

The Report states that the battle for peace must be fought on two fronts. First is the security front where victory indicates 'freedom from fear'; second is the economic and social front where victory means 'freedom from wants'. Victory must be secured on both the fronts. Only then there can be enduring peace. 'Freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' constitute two components of the human security. However, over a period of time, attention shifted relatively more to the first. But the latter is equally, if not more, important.

1.3 CONTEMPORARY VIEWS

The concept of human security dealt in the UNDP HDR 1994 reflects the modern concept of human security. The International Commission on Intervention and Sovereignty viewed human security as a central concept for national and international institutions, particularly in view of United Nations' endorsement of this concept stating that "ensuring human security is, in the broadest sense, the cardinal mission of the United Nations".

There are other expressions also, which bring out the content and significance of the human security. Such views can help in the formulation of policies and programmes for the implementation of the schemes of human security. Lyal S. Soonga advocates a concept of human security that is fully informed by international human rights law, international humanitarian law, international criminal law, and international refugee law, and takes into account the international legal norms.

King and Murray take a focused view to emphasise human security measures in terms of 'years lived outside a state of generalized poverty'. Some consider human security as a pre-condition of human development. Some view it in broad terms covering not only right to basic material needs but also human dignity and democratic practice.

1.3.1 Working Definition of Human Security

Sabina Alkire argues that "the objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way consistent with long-term human fulfillment."

This working definition includes:

- i) maintains the joint focus on both poverty and violence,
- ii) maintains its 'people-centered' nature,
- iii) maintains multi-dimensionality
- iv) focuses on 'cultural and pervasive threats to the vital core of peoples' lives' and,
- v) proposes that the objective of human security be specified and translated into operational policies and projects by principled procedures.

To explain this further:

1. Human security aims at safeguarding human lives from the threat of violent conflicts, diseases etc., through appropriate institutions. It attempts to offer institutionalised protection. It also seeks to introduce an element of 'respect' by which institutions do not act in a way that threatens human security. However, it must be borne in mind that the focus is more on human beings than on threat.
2. Human security does not seek to cover all aspects of human life but only some vital core activities like building capabilities among people to satisfy their basic needs, enabling people to enjoy fundamental human rights.
3. Human security is 'people-centered'. It means it is not obsessed with the traditional territorial concept, but its focus is on people. Again it is concerned with people as people irrespective of age, sex, race, religion, nationality etc.

4. Human security focuses on human lives and their protection from critical threats that affect basic functions of human life and pervasive threats that are of large scale and threats that can repeat like diseases, epidemics etc. Further such threats may be direct like rioting or pollution or indirect like distorted investment or defence rather than development. Human security identifies such costly threats and seeks to deal with them for peoples' welfare.
5. Human security aims at human fulfillment, though it focuses only on selected human aspects of human development and human rights. Here too it seeks to ensure that activities that promote human security consistent with people's long term good. Process of governance, or participation, of capacity building etc., are important but must not undermine long term public good. "In the final analysis, human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not lost, or ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced". Human security must lead to optimum human fulfillment, both in short term and long term.

In addition to what is explained by Sabina Alkire, we may add two more points for enriching the coverage of human security.

6. Human security is a global concept. By ensuring human security in individual societies and countries, cumulatively at global level, human security is effectively achieved. It is thus a positive sum game, compared to national sovereignty that is obsessed with a particular country often presuming a hostile environment.
7. Human security is of special significance for a country like India. Such a country faces chronic problems of poverty, unemployment, inequality, malnutrition and underdevelopment. For such countries human development ensures not only economic development but also human development which, in long term, can achieve human capital formation making it easier to go in for a sustained human development.

1.3.2 Contribution of Mahbub-ul –Haq

Mahbub-ul-Haq (1999) in his important work on human development gives an outline to human security. He points out that while in the classical economy the preoccupation was with all society, not just with economy, after Second World War, the focus was on economic growth. Resultantly, there was high growth but not improved lives. On the contrary, the structural adjustment programmes actually adversely affected poor and other disadvantaged sections of the society. The latter 1980s thus provided a right environment for a counter-offensive. And thus Haq's Human Development Report emerged in 1990 to become later a cherished annual report on human development and policy prescriptions. In the HDR 1994, the concept of human security originated, as an alternative to the prevailing obsession with economic growth and GDP (Gross Domestic Product).

In this Report, the idea and concept of human security was given a strong and positive consideration and recommendation. It is not confined only to GDP or individual countries or economies. The Report pointed out that poverty cannot be stopped at national borders –all of which spread globally. It was advocated that it is better to deal with new and recent issues of human security more upstream than downstream. For example it is better to concentrate on prevention of AIDS, HIV etc., rather than only on the disease themselves, which in the long run will be more beneficial for society.

This dimension of human security led to the search for a new development paradigm and new policies, with special focus on developing countries and also the development of human development index (HDI) as a concept to measure human development with limited variables reflected in the composite index. The variables covered were life expectancy, education and income. Analysis of the HDI would throw up policy issues to tackle the shortfalls in the human development by promoting human security dealing with insecurities (discussed later under the section dealing with scope of human security).

Dr.Haq has pointed out that in several developing countries, the income was a small share of world income, but their imports of arms were much larger. Also, the human development ranks in several African and Islamic countries were also generally lower. Dr.Haq had anticipated the great significance of human development. He stated that new imperatives will emerge, ranking peoples' good life as better security. He has said that the world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security should change dramatically, if life has to be sustainable. Security should be interpreted as security of people and not just territory. It should be broadened to be security of individuals and of nations. Again, security is sought to be achieved through development, not through arms. Above all, security will be for all people everywhere—in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment.

Dr.Haq states that human security will be regarded as universal, global, and indivisible. According to him, five steps are needed to achieve human security. These are:

- a) A new concept of development, which is based on equity, must become the paradigm.
- b) It is necessary to move from arms security to human security and the peace dividend that we are enjoying must be used for social welfare.
- c) A new framework of development cooperation is needed at global level with a partnership between North and South countries.
- d) There should be a new framework of global governance.
- e) Countries must move towards creating a global civil society.

It can be concluded that Dr.Haq's thinking, philosophy, and policy suggestions can be interpreted as a Gandhian approach to global and human security.

1.3.3 Juan Somavia's 'Peoples' Security'

Juan Somavia's 'peoples' security' is another expression of human security, though he has also explicitly used the term 'human security' but with minor differences. In his words, "it is high time that we acknowledge the primary importance of human security, define it as our new organizing principle for international relations and operationalise that change." He pointed out that times have changed from the earlier military security to the present concept of security that is people-centered. He has discussed security in the South American context which is valid in general also. According to Somavia, an analysis of security concepts brings out the following common principles:

1. Security cannot be based on the insecurity of others. This type of security does not last long.
2. Building up of arms does not lead to more confidence. It leads to more distrust.

3. Security is not a strategic or military question. It covers economic, social, cultural, environmental and other aspects. And
4. Security of the human being is as important as the security of the state.

He rightly asserts that the objective of a security policy is to reduce insecurity. For dealing with insecurity, one has to explore the origin of insecurity. He cites three perceptions of sources of security:

1. The first origin of insecurity is poverty. Poverty, marginalisation, destitution, the resulting social tension, violence, armed struggle and terrorism are all sources of insecurity. Poverty also generates insecurity for the rich. It produces insecurity all across the society.
2. The second source of insecurity is the instability of political systems.
3. The third source of insecurity is the economic uncertainties of unemployment and low income.

Somavia adds that narcotics in some South American countries is leading to more money laundering, corruption etc. He has highlighted prominently political and economic uncertainties. According to him human rights have introduced a process of humanisation of politics. But this is associated with the dehumanisation of the economy through uncertainties. So, in politics we are people, but in the economy people are just aggregates for the market. The combination of these two situations is extremely explosive, deserving United Nations' attention.

1.3.4 Amartya Sen's View

Amartya Sen was awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1998 for his contribution to welfare economics. He opines that welfare economics should pay attention to the issues concerning the development of capabilities of human beings. He has studied about food and famine and has highlighted the importance of food security as an important part of human security. He has pointed out that what a person can enjoy in terms of goods and services at his command is his entitlement which mainly depends on how much he is endowed with. Poor have very little endowments in this sense.

Capabilities creating functional abilities among poor can help them in having better entitlements and better life. He has advocated regular assured food entitlements and control of inflation that hurts poor the most. Such measures can boost human security. He appreciates and advocates public action which covers not only governments but also NGOs and similar institutions working for poor. He also advocates social security as the use of social means to prevent deprivation and vulnerability, and for preventing a fall in their training skills that can raise capabilities. The activities that help poor and disadvantaged sections and raise their entitlements and capabilities deserve high appreciation.

1.3.5 Gandhi's Views

Mahatma Gandhi did not use the word 'human security' perhaps because that word and that concept of security was not prevalent, and the problems of poverty, inequalities was dealt with as economic problems only but not as security issues. Issues of terrorism and violence of many types were dealt with as issues of internal security. But the Mahatma's views on society, politics, and economics clearly indicate that he would have welcomed the concept with open hands and deep sincerity.

There are many of his views which show that he would have been very happy with the concept of human security. He was against monopoly. He said: "I hate privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me". He also identified himself with the humanity. He said, "I believe in absolute oneness of God, and therefore, of humanity". He also claimed his message to be universal. He advocated that all- rich and poor—should be equal. "If all worked for their bread, distinction of rank would be obliterated". He also advocated equality of wages. According to him, production should be determined by social necessity and not by personal greed. He believed in the dignity of labour and pleaded for universal education. He strongly advocated the trusteeship principle in business which would bring benefit to all, especially labour. He strongly believed in the principle of 'from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs.' He advocated 'Sarvodaya' and 'Antyodaya' meaning 'development of all and development of the poorest (of the last man). To him 'plain living and high thinking' was the ideal.

1.4 SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN SECURITY

The concept of human security has vast scope in several areas of human life and endeavours. Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq suggested that the scope of global or human security should be expanded to include threats and insecurities in the following seven areas:

1. **Economic Security:** Refers to right to basic minimum income and productive work. Presently about one fourths of world's population is economically insecure. Economic insecurities prevail not only in developing countries but also in developed and advanced economies. Absence of economic insecurity can lead to political tensions and violence affecting law and order. In India, the government's aim in passing legislation of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme was to ensure some economic or income security to the rural poor.
2. **Food Security:** Refers to access to basic food, both physical and economic access, to all people all the time. Food security is a major problem in developing countries. The problem is not only the overall availability but also its physical distribution and lack of purchasing power with the poor masses. This problem is prevalent both at national and global levels. Attempts by the states at national and international levels have met with limited success. The problem can be solved by ensuring access to productive assets, remunerative work, and assured minimum income. Food security here overlaps with economic security. In large countries like India, this attempt involves mobilisation of vast funds which is a difficult task.

It is strange that hunger threatens on the one side whereas there is indulgence in wasteful consumption by the rich. Gandhi's saying that 'there is availability for everyone's needs but not for everybody's greed' should be always kept in mind to ensure economic security for all, rich and poor.

3. **Health Security:** Refers to right to minimum protection from dangerous diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. The general causes for sickness and death are infectious diseases. In developing countries there are also diseases like T.B. Many of the diseases are chronic arising from malnutrition, lack of immunity etc. The Global Hunger Index 2010 has brought out the extremely poor health of children in India. For example, underweight children of less than 5 years in India constitute 42% of such children in

the world. Children need special protection under health security. Similarly people living in rural areas in countries like India also needed health security.

4. Environmental security: This security includes protecting people from chronic ravages of nature and bad effects of abuse of nature like pollution, degradation of nature and others. Exhaustion of natural resources like water and petrol-oil is to be dealt with so that future generations can also be assured of the availability of these resources. This needs as much of international action as of domestic programmes and operations.
5. Personal security: People are also to be protected from physical violence from stronger people and groups including the state. It also includes protection from domestic violence, predatory adults and criminals. Basic protection in terms of law and order and free movement are necessary.
6. Community security: Protection from disorders arising from loss of traditional relationship and human values is necessary to ensure peaceful community living. Minorities, small ethnic groups, indigenous people and other weaker communities need to be protected from an oppressive majority. To highlight these aspects the United Nations declared the year 1993 as the 'year for indigenous people' to draw attention of the society to the pitiable conditions of about 300 million aboriginals in about 70 countries who became victims of sectarian violence.
7. Political security: People must be enabled to enjoy basic and fundamental human rights necessary for a decent living. Amnesty International has been periodically drawing the attention towards political violence, inhuman torture, ill-treatment, exploitation and disappearance of people. During situations of political unrest, there can also be state violence to prevent spread of ideas and information that may not be liked by the state or may be a threat to some groups.

The above are the various aspects or elements of human security. Their prevalence may differ from country to country and from advanced to developing countries. In individual countries too there can be differences. In some poor countries food security and health security aspects may be more important and imperative while environmental security may be more relevant to large countries in which environmental degradation may be more important. But on the whole, human security highlights the need to deal with the above aspects of human security. The scope and need for applying the concept of human security to the disadvantaged sections is indeed very high and crucially important.

1.4.1 Significant Dimensions of Human Security

The idea of human security is simple in its expressions but it will, according to the HDR 1994, revolutionise the 21st Century because of its significant features, which are given below:

1. Human security is a universal concern. It is not confined to only national limits nor is it only a territorial concept. For example, it is concerned with poverty and diseases cutting across the frontiers of nations as these threats are universal.
2. Its components are interdependent. Famines, diseases, drugs, pollution, terrorism etc feed on one another. Famines reduce resistance to disease and can cause epidemics, drugs lead to crimes and terrorism. Environmental pollution can affect public health.
3. Human security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention.

Problems like poverty, inequalities, and lack of health need long term approach and are amenable to early and effective intervention.

4. Human security is people-centered. People will have to be enabled and empowered to take care of themselves, by coming together and forming social groups.

We can add additional features for a more enlightened understanding.

5. Human security is an integrated approach where concerted and collective action is carried out on interdependent problems faced by the people. It is not a defensive concept; it calls for a proactive and positive approach.
6. Human security is related to people in all types of countries, rich or poor and at all times. It deals with issues like disease, crime, drug, hunger etc., which are faced by people everywhere from country to country and time to time.

1.5 HUMAN SECURITY AND TRADITIONAL SECURITY

Human security and traditional/national/state security are often compared to understand the objectives, significance and features of both.

1. Traditional security gives priority to the protection of a state's territory and preservation of national sovereignty. It is considered that if a state is secure, this security will trickle down to its citizens. Human security deals with people's protection in terms of the threats they face individually and collectively. Thus both national security and human security should have similar objectives. For example, threat of food insecurity, dangerous diseases, terrorism and economic insecurity should be the concern of states just like safeguarding their own security is. This also implies that states should prioritize their expenditure on human security needs as opposed to spending far too much on military security.
2. Further it can be argued that one cannot be attained without the other. In fact human security emerged as a challenge to the idea of traditional security. Traditional security cannot deal effectively with international/global phenomenon like environment, climate, disease etc., It needs international cooperation which imply some compromise on traditional/national sovereignty.

However there are some significant differences between traditional security and human security in several aspects. These are briefly stated below:

1. Traditional security policies promote state's demands. They seek to protect state's territories, people and interests. Other interests are subordinate. Human security is more people-oriented. It seeks to protect individual's well being and responds to threats like diseases and underdevelopment.
2. Both have wide scope but different emphasis on different threats. State/traditional security aims to deter or defeat external aggressions on its soil or people. Human security goes further to deal with threats like environmental pollution, dangerous diseases, and economic deprivation.
3. In traditional security, state through government is the sole actor, though its executive strategies involve people. It is presumed that without state role there would be

anarchy. In human security, along with government, people, regional and international organisations like the United Nations, NGOs and local communities also play a part.

4. Traditional security seeks to build national military power to protect territorial integrity and people's lives. In human security, not only government, but also social groups, NGOs etc. contribute by helping in the identification of various social, economic, and political insecurities.

Thus, both traditional and human securities have their important roles to play in their respective spheres. But human security is important to people's lives, health, economic security and socio-economic development.

1.6 TRANSITION FROM NUCLEAR SECURITY TO HUMAN SECURITY

Till the end of Second World War, there was an obsession with military security. The dropping of atom bomb in Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan carried this concept to its end of nuclear security. Nuclear power became the most feared and hence respected. It was believed that nuclear security can remove all military threats. In the second half of 20th Century till the end of Cold War in the 1990s, nuclear power was considered to be the ultimate security.

However, as the danger of military conflicts can be appreciated, there was a realisation that people's insecurities in terms of famine, diseases, drugs, pollution, terrorism etc, were a greater danger. Besides it was realised that people's welfare should be the ultimate goal and securing this goal would not only lead to prosperity and peace to people but also lead to effective cooperation among countries. The United Nations picked up this situation to advocate peace and cooperation for global peace and harmony.

The environment became more opportune with the end of Cold War and attention shifted to the need for making conscientious efforts towards eradication of poverty and inequalities on the one hand and promotion of human rights on the other, covering all basic rights that empowered people for good life. The UNDP's HDR1994 brought out prominently the concept of human security. According to this Report we need a profound transition from nuclear security to human security. The Report also strongly advocated a change or transition from the narrower concept of national and nuclear security to human security, i.e from the existing territorial concept to people's security. The change is from military and nuclear might and armaments and move towards 'sustained human development'.

Sustainable human concept is a highly valuable multi-dimensional concept. It aims at ensuring people empowered to work for development of the society. As the report says 'sustained human development' is pro-people, pro-job and pro-nature and addresses both inter-generational and intra-generational equity.

In order to mobilise the needed resources for sustainable human development for achieving such development, the Report recommends some fundamental changes. These include the following:

1. Foreign assistance linked to a policy of poverty, employment and sustained human development.

2. One percent of donor's GDP to poorest nations as global social security net.
3. Cooperation to include all flows, not just aid but also trade, investment, technology and labour flows.
4. New initiatives of cooperation that should help developing countries in environmental control, narcotics control etc.,
5. New sources of international funding like global taxation, carbon credit etc
6. New framework of governance.

Such changes will enable the achieving of sustainable human development ensuring human security.

1.7 CRITICISM OF THE HUMAN SECURITY CONCEPT

Though the concept of human security is overwhelmingly endorsed and supported, there are some criticisms also. These are mentioned below:

1. The concept of human security is considered much too broad and inclusive of everything and thus vague and its vagueness underwrites its effectiveness.
2. It does not help the research community which needs empirical and objective data. For example concepts like 'security' are not easy to measure.
3. It does not enable decision makers in effective policy making. It is difficult to arrive at consensus policies with differences among countries and their viewpoints.
4. Another important criticism is the implementation of the policies effectively. For example, acute poverty though is coming down, it constitutes to be large and glaring. Similarly events like terrorism, torture, rape etc., continue making a mockery of human security.
5. The richer nations have been reluctant to help in concrete terms and stop with lip sympathy.
6. Some of the challenges like elimination of child labour, forced labour and exploitation of women need vast resources and strong implementation which has been difficult to mobilise and monitor.
7. The 1993 Vienna conference stated that "It is essential for states to foster participation by the poorest people in the decision making process by the community in which they live, the promotion of human rights and efforts to combat extreme poverty". Ensuring such participation has been a Herculean task.

1.8 SUMMARY

The concept of human security has been evolving over a period of time. While earlier the focus was more on the personal rights for the people, the emergence of modern democratic governments and the concept of security has focused more in favour of common man. From the earlier times to the end of Second World War security was based on territorial integrity, national sovereignty and protection of people from external

aggression. But after the end of the war and the emergence of the United Nations organization, the concept of security moved away from these, though not rejected. The United Nations General Assembly Declaration of Human Rights aimed at making common people's life more free and safer, and healthier. The Vienna Declaration on Human Rights and Programme of Action has given enormous rights to the people.

The HDR 1994 came out with a very significant contribution by Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq in the introduction of the human security concept. He introduced the security concept to give a special place to common people and safety of their lives leading to economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. These significantly expanded the scope for the application of the human security. Of late, Mahatma Gandhi's views are being interpreted in terms of human security. It was concluded that Gandhi would have welcomed and approved the concept of human security with open hands and deep sincerity. The concept of human security is accepted now by the people, governments and international institutions. There needs to be deliberations on the criticisms, planning and implementing remedial measures to overcome the negative effects and strengthen the implementation of human security in all its aspects.

1.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Briefly discuss the evolution of the concept of human security over a period of time.
2. Explain the traditional/state/national security. How do you think is it different from human security?
3. Explain the human rights approach to development and security. How is it used to support inclusive development?
4. Discuss the concept of human security as suggested in the Human Development Report (HDR) 1994.
5. Comment on the transition from nuclear security to human security.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 2 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, RIGHTS AND SECURITY

Structure

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2.1 INTRODUCTON

Human development, human rights and human security constitute the ingredients that can make humanity contended and secure. Human development creates entitlements, and capabilities in people to lead a good life. Human rights create support for people and enables them to get access to entitlements and capabilities. Human security creates a right to people for basic entitlements for survival and a basic minimum standard of living. If people are appropriately empowered, these rights, entitlements and capabilities can be well realised, benefiting the society, especially the poor, marginalised, disadvantaged, and exploited. It is therefore necessary to examine these concepts and the interdependence among them so that policies and programmes for human upliftment and security can be created.

The difference between ‘a right’ and ‘a human right; may be noted here:

A right can be defined as ‘a right, if and only if, society has a right to protect its enjoyment and redress its violation.’ A human right is ‘a human right, if and only if, being a human being is a sufficient reason or condition for possessing the right’. For example ‘right to food’ is a human right as all beings need it for living as human beings. Human rights are succinctly explained in the ‘Action Aid’ publication (2004) as follows: “All the human beings have the right to live with dignity at all times, regardless of their legal, social, or political status. Human rights are not gifts to be bestowed at the whims and fancies of anyone, nor a privilege, an act of grace or charity. Equity and justice are at the heart of all human rights. Living with dignity and without fear are basic human needs. It includes adequate decent food, water and health, freedom from slavery, fair treatment under the law, a shelter etc. These basic human needs and values are at the foundation of universal ideas of human rights.”

Aims and Objectives

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- trace the evolution of human rights, including in India.
- bring out the significance of human development for developing countries like India.
- analyse the interdependence among the above concepts to get an integrated view.

2.2 EVOLUTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights have been evolving historically over 300 years. Some important milestones in this development include the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, which guaranteed individual freedom and safety against arbitrary arrest and punishment. The 1689 Bill of Rights codified rule of law, right to vote, individual liberty and judicial guarantees. The 1776 US Declaration of Independence offered right to life, and the 1789 French Declaration of the Right of Man and the Citizen covered extended sovereignty; government, general will of the people, equality before law, accountability, right to resist oppression and right to property, security, freedom of conscience, and of opinion. In the 1920s, the League of Nations enforced its mission as one to create cooperation between nations and guarantee peace and security. But the concept of human rights as a universal declaration came after the horrific experiences of the fascist killings during the Second World War. Human rights principles were written in the United Nations Charter. Later in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly which asserted 'a combination of civil, political, economic, social, cultural rights'. There were also declarations on rights of women and children, war-affected people etc. In 1976 with the adoption and entry into force of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, Civil Rights and of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICPR) the Universal Declaration of 1948 was strengthened. After this there were several notifications covering security, cooperation, against torture, against racial discrimination, right to intervention by the UN, rights to the minorities, elimination of discrimination against women and rights of child.

The UN General Assembly adopted the important Declaration on the Right to Development in 1986, which includes the Rights of Food, Education and Health. Most significant declaration after the 1948 Declaration was the 'Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action' adopted in 1993 by the World Conference of Human Rights, upholding human rights stating that 'human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthrights of all human beings, their protection and promotion is the first responsibility of governments' (Part I, Para1). It can be concluded that globally human relations stand tall upholding freedom and democracy, notwithstanding violations in some parts and states.

Human Rights Evolution in Stages

One can identify different stages in the development of human rights. In the first stage there was philosophical interpretation by social theorists. For example, the theory of natural law by John Locke states that man has natural rights and in this state of nature men are free and equal. Rousseau gave his social contract theory. Second stage is the one where it slowly developed into a practice of enjoying rights. Demands for rights during the French Revolution, gave expression and birth of practice of rights.

The third stage is from the 1948 when Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations making human rights global rights. The rights that were first demanded were civil and political rights, therefore called the first generation rights. The second generation rights covered the rights to work, income, food, health etc., Human rights instruments came in the form of treaties and resolutions. These became the standards to judge the practice of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one such important standard. But with the emergence of the Cold War and the rivalry between the USA and the USSR, the development of human rights movement got derailed. During the 1970s there was a progressive shift to rights practice. In 1980s, several human rights against practices like discrimination against women, against torture, etc., were institutionalised. From 1990s onwards, with the Cold War having ended, human rights have come to centre stage once again. This trend is likely to continue with more and more democratic countries emerging, taking the human relations practices more seriously and sincerely.

Human Rights Global Scenario

Human rights occupy a very important position internationally. Almost all countries respect human rights and have incorporated human rights in their domestic legislation. However, at the level of actual observation and practice, there have been several instances of violations of human rights. The Amnesty International brings out every year a large number of cases of human rights violations. There are also organisations like Human Rights Watch which monitor the field of human rights and disseminate the information.

It is also pointed out that almost one fifth of the world's population is affected by poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and uncertainty is sufficient ground for considering that the economic/cultural/social rights of these persons are being denied on a massive scale. Yet, on the whole, development agencies have been slow to explore ways of bringing these concerns to the United Nations human rights framework.

There have been many cases of genocide, ethnic cleansing, terrorism, exploitation of women, sectarian conflicts, freedom struggles in several countries, like the (then) Yugoslavia comprising of Serbia (especially Kosovo), Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro; Rwanda; and East Timor, and other parts of the world and for a long time. These instances have violated human rights in large scale and underline the importance of concerted effort that needs to be made to protect human rights. Further as time passes and with greater awareness spreading, the concept and ideas of human rights is getting serious attention and it can be hoped that in future human rights will receive due attention all over the world. In this context, the passing of the 'Responsibility to Protect' or R2P affirms that states must adhere to protecting the rights of their citizens.

Human Rights in India

After independence in 1947, India has been a supporter of human rights. The Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution assure Rights to Equality, Freedom, Against Exploitation, Freedom of Religion, Cultural and Educational Rights, and Right to Constitutional Remedies. There are several principles in the Directive Principles of State Policy that offer guidelines to the government on policies to help poor, women, marginalised sections and the disadvantaged. India has a vibrant judiciary with a strong inter-linked network of courts, High Courts and the Supreme Court.

India has also been dealing with human rights violations through an institutional framework.

The National Human Rights Commission, set up under the Human Relations Act 1993, is an autonomous statutory body. It can enquire into human relations violations including by a public servant. It can review constitutional, statutory and international safeguards for the protection of human rights. When it receives complaints of human rights violations, it makes enquiries and recommends to concerned authorities for appropriate action like prosecution, grant of interim relief, and referring to High Courts and the Supreme Court. There are also similar commissions at the state level. There are also district courts acting on human rights violations. In 1992, the government set up National Commission for Women. There is also the National Commission for Minorities covering Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, and Zoroastrians. There is an extensive legal frame work for women and children for the protection of their rights.

However in spite of various measures discussed above, when it comes to implementation, the record in the human rights front in India is not so good. We read about reports of rights violations of women, children, minorities, Dalits, tribals and others. The record is also poor in the reporting of human rights violations to appropriate bodies and agencies. As far as the judiciary is concerned, it is heavily overburdened with pending cases. There are over 24 million cases pending in various courts in the country. There is also the criticism that in judiciary, especially at lower courts, corruption is rampant.

In the case of women, with declining sex ratio (more males), dowry extortion, sexual harassment and domestic violence, much more strong and serious action is to be undertaken. Similarly child labour, though declining, is still significant. There are also still cases of bonded labour, and exploitation of rural labour. There is still inadequate attention paid to unorganised labour who constitute over 90% of the total workforce.

Indian records in ensuring the Right to Food, Right to education and Right to Health have also not been impressive. It can be concluded that though there is a comprehensive human rights institutional framework in India, there is still a lot more to be done, especially in the sphere of implementation of the various provisions of the human rights legislation and policy.

2.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The Human Development Report (HDR) 1994 speaks of sustainable human development which means that the goal for development should be the betterment of human beings. This implies that growth should come with equity and sustainability. Development is a comprehensive process directed towards the full realisation of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Right to Development is an important human right and an integral part of fundamental freedoms. The concept of human development overlaps significantly with sustainable human development and therefore can be used interchangeably assuming the inclusion of sustainability in the concept of human development.

Paul Streeten (1999) brings out the significance of human development when he says in the Foreword to Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq's work (Reflections on Human Development) that human development is blessed six times as it confers six important benefits. These are:

1. Human development is an end in itself, because it ensures a contented and efficient manpower.
2. Human development is a means to higher productivity, because it ensures educated, productive and high quality manpower.

3. It slows down human reproduction by lowering desired family size. Educated parents prefer to have a small and happy family.
4. Good for physical environment. As people get educated, they become more aware of environment and support more trees and forests.
5. Human development reduces poverty, as educated and skilled get employed. It also promotes a healthy civil society and democracy. There is also greater social stability and awareness of sustainability in human development.
6. Human development also has a political appeal, because it may reduce civil disturbances and increase political stability.

Streeten compliments Dr.Haq for strengthening human development by adding the dimension of security, shifting the concept away from military/national security to human security. According to Dr.Haq there are four essential components of Human Development. These are briefly narrated below:

1. Equity: Benefits of development must be shared equitably by all sections. In actual practice, in a country like India, the challenge of exclusion is yet to be overcome successfully. India's Eleventh and Twelfth Five Year Plans have the aim of achieving inclusive development as their main goal.
2. Sustainability: Development has to be sustained without loss of environment and ecology, and without undue cost on the future generation. It also signifies resort to renewable sources as much as possible.
3. Productivity: Productivity is the secret of acceleration in economic growth and development. There must be optimum utilisation of resources with maximum output from the given resources.
4. Empowerment: Empowerment refers to equipping people to play their expected role in development. In the context of a developing country like India, this means enabling the weaker sections of the society, especially the poor, women and child labour and other disadvantaged sections of the society.

Dr.Haq supplements the above components with a suggestion of four ways of creating desirable links between economic growth and human development. These are:

1. Creation of social infrastructure in the community that reaches the target sections like poor and needy. This involves emphasis on large investment in education, health and creation of skills etc. Countries like Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, China, and Malaysia are good examples where they have gained pace in development by investing substantial resources in education, health etc.
2. More equitable distribution of income and assets: Poverty reduction very much depends on access to resources and opportunities. Measures that shift resources to the needy and deserving and check conspicuous consumption can be of great help to achieve equitable distribution. For example, progressive taxation within limits can help in achieving such goals like equitable distribution.
3. Well structured social expenditure: Such expenditures like public expenditure are mostly by governments. The private sector can also chip in wherever possible.

Expenditures on schools, universities, hospitals and public works are some good illustrations of desirable public expenditure.

4. Empowerment, especially of women: Empowering village leaders and women in taking decisions and implementing them in the field of development can ensure people's participation in development. Other poor, marginalised, and disadvantaged sections must also be empowered by seeking their participation and helping them with credit and other facilities. Discrimination against women must also be ended and they must be supported by the government.

The significance of human development was realized fully when Dr.Haq suggested that HDR should be published annually, monitoring the progress on the human development front and also exploring one new policy issue every year in the HDR. Thus every year the HDR will have details and statistics of progress on the global human development including ranking of countries in human development and informed discussions on a new policy issue in the area of human development. For example, the 1990 HDR gave details on how people are faring in that year and also suggested, after discussions, a judicious mix of market efficiency and social compassion. The 1991 HDR focussed on financing human development. The 1992 HDR discussed international dimensions of human development. According to Dr.Haq, the HDR is having a significant impact on the human development front. The impact included a global search for a new development paradigm and special attention to developing countries and to HDR providing an index of social progress.

To promote global human development, Dr.Haq suggested a "new framework of development cooperation" commenting on development aid to developing countries as poor and inadequate. Dr Haq suggested a larger disbursement of aid as percentage of GDP of developed countries. As remarked by Robert Frost in the Epilogue of the book 'Reflections on Human Development', human development is more challenging and the only viable option in the future.

To measure human development economists have developed measures called Human Development Indices (HDI). These measure the percentages of literacy, availability of health and sanitation, drinking water etc for the population. These are given a score and the human development of each country is rated. Further a Gender Development Index (GDI) that measures the empowerment and benefits that a state gives to women has also been developed. A true development of a country is when it goes up in the HDI and GDI.

2.4 STATUS OF HUMAN SECURITY

Human security aims at safeguarding the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats in a way consistent with long term fulfillment. Human security is the safeguard against threats in life like poverty, job-insecurity, food insecurity, environmental degradation etc., which can cause severe damage and hinder human development.

Human security means safety from some chronic threats like hunger, disease, and repressions. It can also mean protection of people from sudden and harmful disruptions in the pattern of daily life – whether in home, in job, or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of development.

Dr.Haq states that human security necessitates action in five areas:

1. Development: Action to maintain sustainability, equity, social security, employment etc., which influence the pace and process of development.
2. Military: Human security here would demand reduction or capping of military expenditure on arms and redistribute resources for economic development benefiting common people.
3. North-South interdependence: The developed North and the developing South can have mutually beneficial relationship with each other benefiting all countries.
4. Institutional: These refer to measures like restructuring institutions like the IMF, World Bank, and the UN to enable them to plan their activities to empower poor countries and ensure security and environment.
5. Building a global civil society based on grassroots participation, dynamic democracy in place of authoritarian rule.

Status of Human Security in India

In India human security is of great value as we face several complex threats. In India poverty is chronic and effects a large section of the population. Policies for social change and economic betterment of the poor and excluded are weak and their implementation is poor. There is wide scale illiteracy, malnutrition and poor health, lack of skills among youth, intelligence failures, political confrontations, evil of dowry, youth frustration and so on. Besides this, India has unresolved disputes with its neighbours and so on. All these threats are complex and of large magnitude and need strong human security measures and their effective implementation.

India is making a valiant effort to strengthen and ensure human security by several path breaking attempts. In the field of food security the Government of India has proposed a Food Security Act. This Act will ensure food to poor people below the poverty line at affordable rates and in reasonably adequate quantities. There are however controversies as to how to demarcate the poverty line, and activists have argued for a universal public distribution system for food security. This is because the Below Poverty Line has been shown to be arbitrary and many people in the Above Poverty Line are also very vulnerable. In the field of employment, the government has already enacted the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme which guarantees work to rural poor for 100 days in a year per household. In the field of social security, the government has passed enactment for social security for the benefit of poor unorganised workers who constitute an overwhelming majority of the work force. Special insurance scheme for poor are also being implemented. The government is working on a giant project of issuing unique identity cards for common people which will facilitate the poor to get access to credit, ration etc. The government is also trying to popularise micro-finance to benefit the poor. In the Five Year Plans the government is now emphasising inclusive development.

However, in spite of these measures, the status of human security in India is still inadequate. Factors like resource constraints, poor implementation, leakages, and corruption in developmental schemes, are adversely affecting the measures of human security. It is necessary for the Government of India and state governments to consolidate the various

measures and coordinate among governments and with the civil society so that human security in India is strengthened.

Status of Human Security at the Global Level

At global level there are a number of measures that have been taken to promote human security. The Millennium Development Goals aim at raising the lot of poor people in developing countries by asking Developed countries to give 0.05% of their GDP for assistance for this purpose. In trade also there is a demand that the World Trade Organization (WTO) work for more favourable terms of trade for poor and developing countries. Earlier attempts at improving the living conditions through international efforts did produce some good results. For example in 1960, about 70% of humanity was living in abysmal conditions, but this percentage came down to 32% in 1992. But there are still glaring inequalities within and between countries which demand strong international actions to strengthen food security and development. Globalization has increased inequality and many people in the middle classes have also suffered because of inequality and jobless growth brought about by globalization.

There are also challenges like terrorism, wars, ethnic conflicts, environmental degradation and climatic changes, which are threatening human security in the developed and developing countries. These will have to be tackled with concerted and well coordinated international actions to enforce human security benefiting the entire mankind. Fostering democracy can also be of great help because it is only in a democratic environment can human security flourish with people's participation, entitlements, and capabilities ensuring social welfare and human well being.

2.5 INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN SECURITY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The interrelationship between human rights and human security on the one hand and human rights and human development on the other are similar because, as stated earlier, human security shares the 'conceptual space' of human development.

A human rights based approach integrates the whole human rights system covering the norms, standards, and principles of human rights system into the developmental process of policy making, planning and implementing development projects leading to equitable development including human development and human security. Human rights include the Right to Development. Such development stimulated by human rights can be enriching and benefiting the poor, marginalised, and disadvantaged. Similarly human rights can also enable people to enjoy security sanctified by rights like the Right to Food Security.

A human rights-based development covers the following elements:

- a) express linkage to rights b) accountability c) empowerment
- d) participation e) non-discrimination and attention to vulnerable groups.

Right to development, among others, ensures development desired by people. Rights demand accountability from institutions concerned with development. Human rights also demand adequate empowerment of development institutions as well as the potential beneficiaries who are people. Participation from people who will be the beneficiaries enriches the development process. And the principles governing rights to equitable

development demand that benefits of such development percolate down to all without any discrimination and must reach especially to the vulnerable groups like the poor, and disadvantaged people.

The United Nations Development programme (UNDP) also highlights the nature of interdependent relationship between human rights and human development (and human security), but suggests that human rights concerns must enter into the national legislation of individual countries. It also states that human development and human rights are mutually reinforcing.

It should be noted that the Right to Development itself is a human right and reflects the relationship between human rights and human development. Its components –Right to Food, Right to Education, and Rights to Health, are linked to human security also. Thus human rights play a similar role under human security as in human development. India is now seriously attempting to implement human rights that are closely connected to human development and human security.

Human Security and Human Rights

Human rights directly influences human security in the sense that both are concerned with identifying a set of universal concerns like poverty and violence which are threats and which need to be dealt with to help common people to face such threats. It should be noted that in this context, human security does not extend to all rights and freedoms but only to threats like economic security especially food security, basic school education and public health, which are considered to be very basic or core threats to human existence against which there must be human security.

2.6 INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN HUMAN SECURITY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

According to Sabina Alkire, ‘human security shares conceptual space’ of human development; this is likewise people-centered and multidimensional and is defined in the space of human choices and freedoms. For example, food security promotes both human security and human development. Both human security and human development deal with education and training to ensure entitlement based on capabilities for enlightenment and better living. Both assume several rights and freedoms like empowerment.

But human development is considered to be a broader concept dealing with various developmental aspects of a person’s individual development whereas human security is confined to basic essentials for life. Human development is also much more long term as development itself is a long term phenomenon unlike human security which is concerned with immediate aspects of earning, working and living. Again, human development is driven by a more holistic objective like sound development of a person’s personality in terms of all round development. Human development thus captures the ‘aspirations of any society whether rich or chronically poor’.

In scope too there is difference. The aim of human development is the flourishing of people’s lives in their homes and society and expansion of valuable choices. In contrast, human security is more limited in scope, more concerned with the immediate requirements of life. But both deal with the development of the poor and weak. Human security is also concerned with preventive aspects of development like prevention of AIDS, small pox etc.

Further as indicted by the terms themselves, human development is more concerned with 'equitable growth'; human security focuses more on human safety and protection from threats and calamities like recession, natural calamities, national emergencies etc. This is different than mere focus on growth and high Gross Domestic product (GDP) as that does not bring development for all in an equitable way and in fact can lead to widening inequality and disparity and thus social conflict.

Human security and human development are essential for good life, though human development is a broader concept dealing with development of a person's faculties and long term positive development while human security deals with protecting a person from hunger, poverty and unemployment, disasters etc. Thus both concepts serve the needs of people and both contribute to good life for people.

2.7 INTERDEPENDENCE AND SUGGESTED AREAS OF ACTION

There is a deep and close interdependence among the concepts of human security, human development and human rights. All these concepts are people-centered and are complementary to each other. For example, the Right to Development of the human rights system has component rights of Right to Food, Right to Education and Right to Health. These rights are closely connected to both human security and human development. Right to Food and Right to Public Health can help protect poor and safeguard their position to a significant extent. Similarly, Right to Education and facilities for poor for higher and technical education can strengthen human development. Thus all the three concepts are harmoniously interrelated and interdependent mutually reinforcing each other.

According to Ellen Seidensticker, human security is a relatively newer concept, not yet developed like the human rights. Therefore, 'hitching' human security concerns onto human rights vocabulary can enrich both. But human security has not necessarily been coupled to obligations. Human rights framework is more basic and more fundamental.

Developing human security can reduce excessive state discretion that justifies suppression of human rights. It would be difficult for the state to neglect human rights in the name of national security. Similarly the discretion in dealing with the social/economic rights can also be moderated. Human security can also help in restoring conflicts between different human rights and help in balancing first generation (civil/political) rights and second generation (social/economic) rights.

Human rights also help in strengthening human security and human development. Right to development covering Right to Food, Right to Education and Right to Health, promote other aspects of human security and human development, both in short term, say relieving hunger and acute poverty and in long term raising general health and capabilities strengthening human development in that process.

Suggested Areas of Action

The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993) states that "The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms the solemn commitment of all States to fulfill their obligations to promote universal respect for, and observance and protection of, all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, other instruments relating to human rights, and international law. In this framework, enhancement of international cooperation in the field of human rights is essential for the

full achievement of the purposes of the United Nations.

Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings; their protection and promotion is the first responsibility of the governments.” (Human Rights—the new consensus, 1994). All concerned must put pressure on their governments to give human rights their top priority.

Among the three concepts of Human Security, Human Development, and Human Rights, the last one is the oldest, original and most significant concept for the benefit of mankind. In fact effective national and international actions are possible only under human rights based development. Human Rights, when asserted, motivate people to demand such rights to be implemented. When people combine them, they get empowered and implementation is achieved. But it is necessary that people are educated in human rights, on the imperatives of human security, and the desirability of human development and are motivated to assert their rights and articulate their demands. The following areas need attention for the better realisation of human rights, human security and human development.

One very important area is the implementation of the various schemes, measures and policies to uphold human rights. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, United Nations Secretary-General, reiterated this aspect in the opening address at the World Conference of Human Rights at Geneva in 1993. He said, “Everyday we see how discredited human rights and the United Nations itself would be, in the eyes of the world, if declarations, covenants, charters, conventions, and treaties that we draft in order to protect human rights remained theoretical or were constantly violated. Human rights should therefore be covered by effective mechanisms and procedures to guarantee and protect them and to provide sanctions” In countries like India implementation has been the crux of the matter. We have an elaborate human rights mechanism but implementation has remained much desired. On the contrary, the prevailing environment of corruption has made matters worst. Special efforts are needed in this direction.

The promotion and practice of democracy needs to be encouraged internationally. As stated by Boutros-Ghali, “there is the imperative of democratization....Only democracy, within States and within the community of States, can truly guarantee democracy. It is through democracy that individual and collective rights, the rights of the peoples and the rights of persons, are reconciled. It is through democracy that the rights of States and the right of the community of States are reconciled.” India has been able to manage human rights and development in a most heterogeneous society only because of democracy. The Human Security Report 2009-10 has pointed out that a study undertaken in 2005 of conflicts in the world during 1946-2003 shows that conflicts per annum has come down from an average of 6 per annum in 1950s to less than one now . This has been due to a number of factors like demise of colonialism, end of Cold War, increase in global economic interdependence, increase in international trade and rise in foreign direct investment (FDI), and increase in the growth of democracies. The increase in the democratic countries has been from 29% to 58% of all countries during the period of study. However the world is now facing two colossal problems of violence and war on terrorism, says the study. All the above facts point out to the need of encouraging democracy in the world and democratic practices in the settlement of disputes and conflicts.

The role of civil society, especially of the Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) in human rights education and development should be fully grasped and optimised. “NGOs

have a major role to play in applying the principles of accountability, transparency, and participation in implementing RTD (Right to Development). They can monitor programmes and deliver services, even replacing the existing bureaucratic channels of administration. They may also play an advocacy role as well as engage in grass root mobilisation and organisation of beneficiaries to participate in decision-making.

The role of NGOs must not be limited to national actions. The concept of international civil society is increasingly gaining ground and NGOs may be very effective in an international advocacy role as well as in the facilitation of the delivery of international services” (CDHR-2004, p.62). The NGOs are already contributing significantly to issues such as ‘food, shelter, women, children, indigenous people, health, labor, refugees, religion, education, racism and discrimination, development and the environment and similar areas’. In India the role of NGOs in education, advocacy and development is now well realised. What is needed is more empowerment of them on the human rights front.

It is necessary that all countries respect human rights. There has been a criticism that human rights are a ‘western’ concept, not applicable to non-western countries like Islamic countries, countries like China etc. This criticism is not valid. The Vienna Declaration was adopted by representatives of 171 countries where no vote was required. Consensus had been reached. Nearly every member state of the United Nations, constituting about 99% of the world population of all sections, was represented. It is necessary therefore to insist on respect for and commitment to the human rights.

It is also necessary to involve business community and trade unions in the promotion and propagation of human rights. Business must include human rights, human security and human development as a part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) and must respect and promote human rights. Trade unions can act as watchdogs of the human rights and must expose the human right violations.

Globalisation is the prevailing paradigm in many countries of the world, especially of the developed world as well as large developing countries like India and China. The impact of this globalisation deserves to be studied seriously from the point of view of human security, human development and human rights. While it has led to a favourable impact on business and the economy which have been growing at a rapid pace, there have been adverse effects on the poor, unorganised workers and marginalised sections of the society. It has led to the ‘digital divide’ creating sharp inequalities and to adverse impact in the labour market leading to ‘jobless growth’ or growth with poor quality jobs in the informal or unorganised sector. Compounding the adverse effects is the persistent inflation, which has been affecting common people due to the rise of essential commodities leading to ‘food inflation’. Globalisation and associated developments have led to an environment of corruption, inflation, inequalities and social exclusion of the masses. All these developments have led to a depressed social environment affecting adversely the human rights, human security, and human development.

The human rights of the extremely poor, marginalised, and disadvantaged sections of the society seem to be getting ignored, as businessmen and other richer sections getting richer while poorer sections continue to suffer more. Human security aspects in terms of inadequate food supply for the poor workers confined to low paying jobs and poor standards of public health are also a matter of concern. Rising costs of higher education, steeply rising costs of housing, and high cost of medicare are adversely affecting human development. It is therefore necessary to examine the human security, human development

and human rights aspects in India under the prevailing environment of globalisation and the difficult socio-economic situation and take adequate steps to uphold and promote the human rights and human development of common people. Thus upholding human rights, respecting human security and promoting human development must be the collective responsibility of all the stakeholders of humanity including governments, NGOs, business, unions, academics and others concerned to make lives of people safe, secure and contended.

2.8 SUMMARY

Human security, human development and human rights are Gandhian concepts though not explicitly stated by him. Together their applications can ensure the well being of people including the poor, weak, marginalised and disadvantaged. Human rights constitute the support for the people for a secure life. Human security ensures that minimum basic essentials of life. Human development is a broader concept involving entitlements and capabilities, and not only secures life, but also good life. Human development has a great significance for good life.

The issue of interdependence among human security, human development and human rights has been discussed. Human security and human development are related closely, and human rights influence both of them. Human Rights advocacy to promote human security and human development has also been discussed. It is pointed out that human security and human development share conceptual space with each other and therefore, closely related. Human security deals more with the individual threats faced by people and also more basic threats like hunger, illiteracy, poor health etc. Human development is a broader concept dealing with high levels of human development like higher education, more productive health etc. Human rights approach promotes human security and human development. For example Right to development addresses both human security and human development issues.

Lastly, the three concepts are considered together, influencing each other. It is pointed out that all these concepts are people- oriented and complementary to each other. Human rights received high attention first and human security concept is a recent one. Some areas that need attention include giving importance to better implementation, promotion of democracy, advocacy for the human rights, important roles to be played by NGOs and stakeholders like business. Attention to these areas will enable us to achieve better quality life as was envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi.

2.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Trace the evolution of human rights with special reference to India.
2. Discuss the human rights practice at the global level.
3. Discuss the interdependence between human security and human development.
4. How can human rights be strengthened resulting in a better promotion and advocacy of human security and human development?
5. Write short notes on:
 - a) The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- b) The 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action
- c) Human Development Reports (HDRs)
- d) Human Rights evolution in stages
- e) Dr.Mahbub-ul-Haq's contribution to the concepts of human development and human security.

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UNIT 3 HUMAN SECURITY AND PEACE BUILDING

Structure

3.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

3.2 Human Security

3.3 UNDP's 1994 Definition

3.3.1 Economic Security

3.3.2 Food Security

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3.3.4 Environmental Security

3.3.5 Personal Security

3.3.6 Community Security

3.3.7 Political Security

3.4 Freedom From Fear vs Freedom From Want and Beyond

3.5 The Canadian Approach

3.6 Limitation of an All Encompassing Human Security

3.7 Peace Building

3.7.1 Pre-Conflict Peace Building

3.7.2 Post-Conflict Peace Building

3.8 Summary

3.9 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Millions of people have been killed by wars and conflicts. Wars destroy lives, cause misery and displacement to millions, militarize societies and men, set back development and destroy creativity, culture and ideas. In the recent decades there has been a decline in large interstate wars like the First and Second World Wars. However, the armed conflicts of this decade are primarily internal or intra-state wars unlike the inter-state wars of the previous decades. Peace building thus has to be applicable to such intra-state conflicts. Research as well as experience reveals that ensurging human security is a positive and concrete step that contributes to peace building. This unit shows the linkages between human security and peace building and links it to Gandhi's ideas on peace.

Since time immemorial, mankind had been searching for an ideal society where man can lead a happier, worthier and rewarding life. Political thinkers like Manu, Kautilya, Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Karl Marx and Gandhi considered the social and cultural presupposition of the ideal political order.

An ideal society can only be possible if we understand the root causes of war and armed conflict, understand their multidimensional nature and then devote our time and efforts to the peace and security of the world. Without peace no nation and no individual can move forward. In a peaceful atmosphere mankind can secure greater heights. A society without peace is like life in the state of nature-brutish, barbaric, short, dull and nasty as Hobbes pointed out in his political theory on the origin of the state. Everyone professes a desire for peace as an ultimate goal, but is willing to take up arms to retain his power. This prompts the need to find out, as to what conditions are necessary to ensure enduring peace. Disarmaments and arms control cannot be pursued for their own sake, but their objectives must be peace. Security will be a natural consequence of peace but the reverse is not necessarily true. Nations consider that military might is totally necessary to ensure peace. As a result militarism has multiplied both as an ideology that relies on the use of force to resolve disputes and materially through acquisition of dangerous weapons.

History has witnessed major wars but wars cannot bring peace. Retaliation only causes counter-retaliation. Peace can be brought only by non-violent means as expressed by Mahatma Gandhi because in the violent environment, human beings cannot have secure and peaceful conditions of life.

Aims and Objectives

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- explain the relation between Human Security and Peace Building.
- describe the importance of Human Security for Peace Building and vice versa.
- analyse the need for Peace Building.

3.2 HUMAN SECURITY

An arms race is like a spiral because once it begins it becomes a spiral and gains its own momentum. Peace can't be achieved unless the use of violence for settling human conflicts is replaced with non violent means. This was repeatedly expressed by Mahatma Gandhi. Just as peace does not mean an absence of war but means peace with justice and dignity, similarly, the term non-violence should be understood not just as absence of physical injury but as an active force of love towards all creatures including humans, animals and plants.

Human Security is an emerging paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities whose proponents challenge the traditional notion of national security. Human security holds that a people-centered view of security is necessary for national, regional and global stability.

The concept of human security emerged in the post-Cold War period when a peace dividend was expected, But the number of intra state conflicts increased, even though inter-state conflicts declined. With this a multi-disciplinary understanding of security involving different security threats evolved. The United Nations Development Programme 1994 Human Development Report is considered a milestone publication in the field of human security, The Report laid emphasis on “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” for all. These freedoms are considered as the best path to tackle the problem of global insecurity.

The search for peace and security in a world marked by extreme economic, social and

cultural heterogeneity, bedeviled by self-aggrandising states which go to war against each other, occasionally plunging the world into senseless destruction, has inspired many proposals for creating one 'True World' where every individual is at peace. The search for peace is also within states that are marked by ethnic, religious and other kinds of conflicts. Often states themselves have an entrenched elite that repress change leading to conflicts. The human security paradigm suggests a multi-dimensional way of resolving conflicts by guaranteeing security.

3.3 UNDP'S 1994 DEFINITION

Dr. Mahbub Ul Haq first drew global attention to the concept of human security in the United Nations Development Programme's 1994 *Human Development Report* and sought to influence the UN's 1995 World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen (Denmark). The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report's definition of human security argues that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas:

3.3.1 Economic Security — Economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the world's people are presently economically secure. While the economic security problem may be more serious in developing countries, concern also arises in developed countries as well. Unemployment problems constitute an important factor underlying political tensions and ethnic violence.

3.3.2 Food Security — Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. According to the United Nations, the overall availability of food is not a problem rather the problem often is the poor distribution of food and a lack of purchasing power. In the past, food security problems have been dealt with at both national and global levels. However, their impact has been limited. According to UN, the key is to tackle the problems relating to access to assets, work and assured income (related to economic security).

3.3.3 Health Security — Health Security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. In developing countries, the major causes of death are infectious and parasitic diseases, which kill 17 million people annually. In industrialised countries, the major killers are diseases of the circulatory system, killing 5.5 million every year. According to the United Nations, in both developing and industrial countries, threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas, particularly children. This is mainly due to malnutrition and insufficient supply of medicine, clean water or other necessities for healthcare.

3.3.4 Environmental Security — Environmental security aims to protect people from the short and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment. In developing countries, lack of access to clean water resources is one of the greatest environmental threats. In industrial countries, one of the major threats is air pollution. Global warming, caused by the emission of greenhouse gases, is another environmental security issue.

3.3.5 Personal Security — Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults. For many people, the greatest source of anxiety is crime, particularly violent crime.

3.3.6 Community Security — Community security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Traditional communities, particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the world's states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife. The United Nations had declared 1993 the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence.

3.3.7 Political Security — Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honours their basic human rights. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International, political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance is still being practised in 110 countries. Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information.

3.4 FREEDOM FROM FEAR VS FREEDOM FROM WANT AND BEYOND

In an ideal world, each of the UNDP's seven categories of threats would received adequate global attention and resources. Yet attempts to implement this human security agenda have lead to the emergence of two major schools of thought on how to best practice human security – “*Freedom from Fear*” and “*Freedom from Want*”. While the UNDP 1994 report originally argued that human security requires attention to both *freedom from fear and freedom from want*, divisions have gradually emerged over the proper scope of that protection (e.g. over what threats individuals should be protected from) and over the appropriate mechanisms for responding to these threats.

- **Freedom from Fear** – This school seeks to limit the practice of Human Security to protecting individuals from violent conflicts while recognizing that these violent threats are strongly associated with poverty, lack of state capacity and other forms of inequalities. This approach argues that limiting the focus to violence is a realistic and manageable approach towards Human Security. Emergency assistance, conflict prevention and resolution, peace-building are the main concerns of this approach
- **Freedom from Want** — The school advocates a holistic approach in achieving human security and argues that the threat agenda should be broadened to include hunger, disease and natural disasters because they are inseparable concepts in addressing the root of human insecurity and they kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined. Different from “Freedom from Fear”, it expands the focus beyond violence with emphasis on development and security goals.

Despite their differences, these two approaches to human security can be considered complementary rather than contradictory. Expressions to this effect include;

- Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous Four Freedoms speech of 1941, in which “Freedom from Want” is characterized as the third and “Freedom from Fear” is the fourth such fundamental, universal, freedom.
- The Government of Japan considers Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want to be equal in developing Japan's foreign policy. Moreover, the UNDP 1994 called for the world's attention to both agendas.

- Surin Pitsuwan, current Secretary-General of ASEAN cites theorists such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Houme to conclude that “human security is the primary purpose of organizing a state in the beginning.” He goes on to observe that the 1994 Human Development Report states that it is “reviving this concept” and suggests that the authors of the 1994 HDR may be alluding to Franklin Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms speech without literally citing that presentation.

Although “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want” are the most commonly referred to categories of human security practice, an increasing number of alternative ideas continue to emerge on how to best practice human security. Among them:

- **G. King and C. Murray.** King and Murray try to narrow down the human security definition to one’s “expectation of years of life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty”. In their definition, the “generalized poverty” means “falling below critical thresholds in any domain of well-being”; and it is in the same article, they give brief review and categories of “Domains of Well-being”. This set of definition is similar with “freedom from want” but more concretely focused on some value system.
- **Caroline Thomas.** She regards human security as describing “a condition of existence” which entails basic material needs, human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community, and an active and substantive notion of democracy from the local to the global.
- **Roland Paris.** He argues that many ways to define “human security” are related with certain set of value and lose the neutral position. So he suggests to take human security as a category of research. As such, he gives a matrix to illustrate the security studies field.

Security for Whom	What is the Source of the Security Threat?	
	Military	Military, Non-military, or Both
States	National security (conventional realist approach to security studies)	Redefined security (e.g., environmental and economic [cooperative or comprehensive] security)
Societies, Groups, and Individuals	Intrastate security (e.g., civil war, ethnic conflict, and democide)	Human security (e.g., environmental and economic threats to the survival of societies, groups, and individuals)

- **Sabina Alkire.** Different with those approaches seek to narrow down and specify the objective of human security, Sabina Alkire pushes the idea a step further as “to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, without impeding long-term human fulfilment”. In a concept as such, she suggests the “vital core” cover a minimal or basic or fundamental set of functions related to survival, livelihood and dignity; and all institutions should at least and necessarily protect the core from any intervention.

3.5 THE CANADIAN APPROACH

The Canadian approach urges that, ‘at a minimum, human security requires that basic needs are met, but it also acknowledges that sustained economic development, human

rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, good governance, sustainable development and social equity are as important to global peace as arms control and disarmament'. It recognises the links between environmental degradation, population growth, ethnic conflicts and migration. Finally, it concludes that lasting peace cannot be built until human security is guaranteed. Here, it needs to be noted that terms like 'basic needs', 'good governance' and so on are contested issues; hence their precise import remains vague and unclear.

What is common between the UNDP and Canadian approaches to human security? Both reject the focus on state security with varying degrees of emphasis, whilst anointing human security as their central concern. Both stress the need to ensure the well-being of citizens, their personal freedom and safety from direct and indirect threats, which can equally emanate from the state or society. On the other hand, there are divergences between the two approaches. The UNDP privileges the individual over the state, whilst the Canadian approach gives importance to the state whilst according primacy to human security. The UNDP emphasises the threat from indirect violence as from environmental factors, whilst the Canadians highlight the dangers of direct violence from domestic and societal, and also global factors. The UNDP believes that human security can be achieved by promoting human development through greater democratisation of global society; the Canadians lay emphasis on political development, global norms, and the collective use of force and sanctions.

3.6 LIMITATIONS OF AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING HUMAN SECURITY

The problem with adopting an 'all-encompassing concept of human security' is that its scope could be enlarged to include everything that adversely affects the well-being of people under the rubric of freedom from fear and freedom from want. Such an inchoate and nebulous perception does not permit effective analysis and the seeking of practical solutions to the problems identified. Over-stretching the concept of human security to make it all-inclusive would make it too broad to be relevant or doable. As observed, 'once everything that generates anxiety or threatens the quality of life in some respect becomes labeled a 'security problem', the field risks losing all focus. Such an agenda is inconceivably rich, and is certainly inclusive, but it can also be off-puttingly vague'. The need for delimiting the concept of human security therefore becomes imperative. How can this be credibly effected without trivialising the concept of human security? The possible solutions in this regard are categorised as follows.

First, a distinction must be drawn between threats to human security that are amenable to state intervention and others that must be left to public and social action. No rigid distinctions can be made here, but threats like the abuse of women and children that have been elevated into the human security agenda do lie, more largely, in the sphere of societal rather than state action. Recognising these distinctions would permit the laying out of priorities and a better utilisation of the budgetary instrument to harness efforts by the state to support societal endeavour.

Second, it has been urged that non-military threats to human security become legitimate subjects of concern if they get sufficiently securitised to be accepted as realistic threats to state or societal interests; thereafter they are 'constituted by the inter subjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects'. The problems of incoherence can be met by establishing rigorous criteria for securitising these threats and disaggregating them into their component sectors. Thus the

problem of infectious disease, for example, can become a plausible threat to human security if its uncontrolled spread hinders industrial production or causes unemployment and social unrest. For an issue to constitute a threat to human security, therefore, there must be a likelihood of a situation arising that is serious enough for political action to be necessitated, and the situation being of a lasting but not transitory nature.

Third, the situation can obtain where a generic threat to human security evolves to include other threats; hence their inter-linkages need delineation after the primary threat is identified. Environmental degradation, for instance, could trigger internal displacements of population into cities leading to unplanned urbanisation, growth of slums, pressure on municipal services, and law and order problems; all these issues affect human security. A large percentage of the population in these slums is insecure and lives in fear and suffers from want. The end result of environmental degradation therefore presents a threat to human security, but the prophylactic means for its mitigation or avoidance lies in the area of human development, reinforcing the link between human security and human development, although they cannot be equated.

3.7 PEACE BUILDING

Peace building strategies are those that seek to address the underlying causes of disputes, conflicts, and crises; it is necessary to ensure that these problems do not arise in the first place or if they do arise, they would not recur. In 'An Agenda for Peace', the Secretary-General of the UN focused his attention on non-recurrence, what he described as 'post-conflict peace building'. But peace building has a strongly preventive character as well. If the foundations are properly laid by efforts, among other things, to create fair systems of rules, fair ways of distributing scarce resources, and to meet basic human needs for survival and dignity, then the chances are that many potential problems, whether international or internal, will remain manageable.

At the heart of the notion of peace building is the idea of human security for a reasonable standard of living, and for recognition of identity and worth. Conflict, whether cross-border or within country exists, when important interests or needs of one or more parties are frustrated, threatened or remain unfulfilled. There are many strategies for identifying these needs and interests and as far as possible, to accommodate and reconcile them. Here the focus is more general, on creating the conditions that will ensure non-recurrence of the problems.

The term peace building is a semantic innovation, but the idea behind it has roots in old religious and moral teachings. Part of the doctrine's foundations found expression in the writings on the 'Law of Nature' in the concepts of human touch in the time of the Renaissance, and later in the postulates of the young bourgeoisie attacking the privileges of the Church and the absolute rule of emperors. The French Revolutions were influenced by these writings and the postulates of the Enlightenment, as well as by the formulations of "Bills of Rights" concerned with equality and liberty as the factors of war prevention and assertion of peace.

With the decay of primitive society and the formation of states, legal systems came into being within the state territories as instruments of the rulers for the maintenance of public order and security. At the same time, principles necessary for the conduct of mutual relations among sovereigns took shape. At first the latter were of a predominantly customary character and were concerned with the alliances for defence, or common

military undertakings such as the procedures for staging wars, their conduct, the fate of war prisoners and booty, delimitation of borders, and similar problems. However, there is an impressive body of evidence that shows that even in ancient times, the written law of nations relating to matters of commerce, negotiations, respect of treaties, diplomatic representation, neutrality and peace building were not rare.

In contradiction to the human security dealing with crucial problems of state sovereignty and essentially with the relationship between individuals and the state, the law of war is concerned with the results of armed conflict between sovereigns, with the protection of the wounded, the ill, prisoners and the civilian victims of armed conflicts. Paradoxically, it reached a high degree of codification and implementation generations ago. This is so because not only humanitarian principles but also mutual interest contributed to its formulation.

To a large extent, peace building involves doing exactly the sorts of things that a civilised international community, and the states that make it up, should be doing anyway i.e. putting in place effective international rules-systems, dispute resolution mechanisms and cooperative arrangements; meeting basic economic, social, cultural and humanitarian needs; and rebuilding societies that have been shattered by war or other major crises. But too often in the past these things, while seen as worthwhile in their own right, have not been identified clearly enough as absolutely integral to the achievement and maintenance of peace and security, and as a result have been given less than the attention they deserve. If we are to achieve just and durable peace in the post-Cold War world, it is crucially important that the international community pay adequate attention to human security.

3.7.1 Pre-Conflict Peace Building

Preventive peace building within states, in which both the international community and individual states themselves have mutually supportive roles to play, should aim at achieving progress in reducing the gap between rich and poor, to extend basic human rights to all, to promote sustainable development and to advance a just and fair society which does not discriminate on grounds of gender and race. Preventive peace building at this level also seeks to promote adherence by states to the established standards of good international citizenship. Good internal government is the necessary foundation of good global governance.

At the national level appropriate preventive peace building techniques include social and economic development, democratisation, observance of fundamental human rights, the elimination of all forms of gender or racial discrimination and respect for minorities. Many states spend disproportionate amounts of their scarce resources for military security thus depriving their populations of vital economic and social infrastructural needs which would be, in general, far more effective in enhancing their national security and well-being. In all regions of the world- and this is just as true of developed as of developing countries- the conversion from defence industry and expenditure to civilian programmes and the adoption of disarmament and arms control measures could, if appropriately managed, result in substantial economic benefits.

Many states simply do not have the physical or financial capacity by themselves to deliver material well-being to their people: to do so involves not just good will and sound priorities but resources, and those are often in desperately short supply. What every state does have the capacity to deliver to its people is the adequate human security. It is essential, in all these respects, that states protect and promote the primacy of the rule of law and periodically review their compliance with international humanitarian, human rights,

refugee, economic and social agreements. Where national laws or practices contradict or diverge from international agreements, states should seek to, and be urged to, bring domestic practices into line with international standards. States should periodically review the extent to which national policy and practice conform to international standards, and should be encouraged to become parties to the key human rights conventions, in particular the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Conventions on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and of Racial Discrimination; the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

International development assistance and the promotion of cooperative development projects, especially in areas of potential dispute, are important to economic peace building within states. Projects aimed at bringing adjoining states together round joint agricultural development projects, transportation, water and electricity utilisation schemes are important confidence-building measures in their own right and should be encouraged.

3.7.2 Post-Conflict Peace Building

All the strategies appropriate to pre-conflict peace building are just as applicable to post-conflict situations, but there are some additional things that will often need to be done-again through a combination of national effort and international support to meet the special needs of countries and people shattered by warfare. The problem is that states generally engage and prioritize state building rather than peace building.

The task in these situations will often be no less than the total reconstitution of broken and devastated societies. The lessons to be learned from the past experience show how essential it is for the people and their leaders to reach agreements about what sort of society and polity they wish to develop after the conflict. The priority task in peace building has to be relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction with justice. It should have women at all levels of peace building tasks as mandated by Security Council Resolution 1325. In these situations, the international community-not just the UN itself, but regional organisations and other international actors as well- has a responsibility to promote democracy and human rights as part of the linked processes of peace making and post-conflict peace building.

In 1993, the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna showed that differences of emphasis between North and South on human rights issues can be accommodated. It also underlined the principle that democracy, development and respect for fundamental human rights are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Where a state has been the object of massive and intrusive UN intervention, the UN may have to contend with an impatience to dispense with its services at the military and political levels so that internal approaches to managing the affairs of state can be pursued unhindered. But the goals of human security cannot be compromised. These goals cannot be reached without a functioning and effective police system, the restoration of an independent judiciary and the creation of security personnel committed to democratisation. In countries that have had no tradition of democratic government and where there is understandable residual suspicion of state authorities after a conflict, there is a need to make a special effort to generate education campaigns about what a democratic, participative and human rights respecting political system could look like, and why parties in the post-conflict situation should suspend judgement and give new approaches a chance. This is an area where the international community can give crucial support. The building of an atmosphere is a particularly crucial priority if the gains of a peace keeping operation are to be consolidated and a relapse

into conflict avoided. The UNDP human security mandate should be part of any peace keeping and post –conflict peace building exercise.

3.8 SUMMARY

It is ironical that we still relying upon nuclear weapons to provide security. We need a security that does not place human future in jeopardy. The confusion and errors of the past demanded an urgent and serious attempt to develop workable principles for humanitarian interventions both at national and international levels. Since new insecurities have been generated by globalisation, a concerted effort is needed to ensure security that gives dignity to persons. A more comprehensive and proactive framework, which includes the root cause of conflicts, needs to be worked out.

In the post Cold War era, there are number of threats to the peace and security of the world, such as terrorism, poverty, migration population, ecological imbalance, drugs, human trafficking and disparities between rich and poor. These issues were addressed at the Hague Appeal for Peace Conference, in 1991, wherein emphasis has been laid on human security (freedom from fear and freedom from want).

Terrorism is another major threat to the world peace. Even the most powerful nuclear country in the world cannot provide an ounce of security against a terrorist group, armed with a single nuclear weapon. In order to bring peace and security in the world, we must chart a new way to peace. Peace is more than just an absence of war. Peace is the highest expression of human value because it alone can make it possible to attain other values. What we need today is to replace the old paradigm founded on entrenched ideological position with new one that is open to reappraisal of social, political, cultural and ecological balance of values. Herein lies the efficacy of human security.

3.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Examine the relation between Human Security and Peace Building.
2. Why is Human Security necessary for Peace Building?
3. How does Peace Building lead to Human Security?

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UNIT 4 GANDHIAN VISION OF HUMAN SECURITY

Structure

4.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

4.2 Freedom From Fear and Anxiety

4.3 The Search for Principles

4.3.1 State: Threat to Human Security

4.3.2 Security vis-à-vis other Disciplines

4.3.3 An International Locus

4.3.4 World Federation

4.4 Relationship with Development

4.5 Relationship with Human Rights

4.6 Gender and Human Security

4.7 Humanitarian Intervention

4.8 Summary

4.9 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The birth of the territorial state in Europe encouraged the growth of the doctrine of state-centred security. National security became synonymous with territorial integrity. Later, this definition was broadened to include other elements of national concern like economic growth and societal cohesion, but territorial sovereignty continued to remain the enduring premise of national security. It must, however, be admitted that the concept of security has always been a contested domain. In fact, the lack of an agreed definition and varied theoretical approaches to examining security raises the question of how one defines security. The act of providing a definition includes some aspects and excludes others. This Unit deals with what should or should not be included, and debate about security since the end of the Cold War has been about.

With the end of the Cold War, and the collapse of the bi-polar world order, the quest for a new international system has invigorated the debate on alternate approaches to security. Cold War definitions of security that are based on realism have privileged territorial sovereignty. They are now challenged by new theoretical constructs arguing for more representative cognitive structures of national and international security. The Cold War promoted a global arms race and the amassing of nuclear and conventional arsenals. It also marked the ascendancy of the military-industrial complex and military-bureaucratic structures in the national polity that dominated the policy making and resource allocation processes. Though technological progress of a kind was achieved in this process, the

human costs involved were heavy; they included such barbarous acts as the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II, and the efforts to annihilate Vietnam, including its ecology, in the Cold War period.

Aims and Objectives

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- describe the Gandhian Vision of Human Security.
- identify the difference between Traditional and Gandhian Vision of Human Security.
- Gandhi's internationalism for Human Security.

4.2 FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND ANXIETY

The ascendancy of the Realist school in international relations placed emphasis on the primacy of the state in the security discourse, which ensured that nation states became the building blocks of the international system. Since the *raison d'être* of the nation state is to survive and enhance its power in a conflict ridden international system, military security acquired special significance. Heavy investments in defence-related activities were invariably made at the cost of those aspects of governance that were concerned with human security or the security of the individual. If security is to be defined as the absence of threat to acquired values, as defined by Arnold Wolfers, then it becomes essential to reach an agreement on these values. In recognising these values, it is also important to differentiate between the impact of different facets of security on national and international security. This required the distinction being recognised between those areas of security that could yield to state action and to societal reform requiring the intervention of NGOs and citizens groups. For example, the objective of gender equality cannot be achieved only through state-intervention in the form of legislation but requires social reform as well.

The concept of security is firmly embedded in beliefs linking it to freedom from fear and anxiety; in fact, the thesaurus identifies its synonyms to be un-anxiety, certainty, and protection'. Further, the dictionary associates security with confidence in its adjectival sense, and with organisation for ensuring the safety of entities against espionage, theft or other dangers. Traditional international relations theory deifies the security of the state as the primary unit of the international system without according due importance to the security of the individual, and embodies the perception that, 'Two dominant themes stand out from the mosaic of international relations in our time, the struggle for power and the struggle for order'(Stoessinger, 1965, p.32). These related themes require further consideration. And it is in this context that the Gandhian Vision of Human Security becomes relevant and urgent. Gandhi tackled this problem in his own characteristic way. First of all let us see the main concern of human security and analyse how they fit in the Gandhian Vision.

4.3 THE SEARCH FOR PRINCIPLES

4.3.1 State: Threat to Human Security

The first and most basic principle applicable is that human security forms part of the international dialogue, and has to be subjected to the same criteria as have been used to promote this dialogue by tradition and general acceptance. This means state security and human security should not be put in opposition without good reason, that the first effort

should be to advance human security by cooperative means. Some have suggested that the state itself is the primary threat to human security. The creation and defence of the Westphalian state form is at the heart of regional insecurity (Swatuk and Vale, 1999). This view clearly goes too far in asking for intervention as the first choice, and is, at least, for the time being, not acceptable within the kind of paradigm that is taking shape. Further, power in international relations continues to maintain the salience it has enjoyed for centuries. While outlining the human security construct in a way that brings closer an agenda for action, we cannot pretend that in the post Cold War world, the role of the state, once expressed primarily through military, political and economic power, and now increasingly expressed as a supplement, through the power of the concept of human security, is about to be abandoned; or that the importance of power has disappeared. This is precisely what Gandhi argued.

State as an engine of Violence: Gandhi was suspicious of the power of the state. Gandhi regarded the state as the organisation of violence. While Marx and Engels regard the state as the agent of the exploiting classes, Tolstoy and Gandhi consider it as the engine of violence. Gandhi was the protagonist of a divine kingdom on earth and hence, necessarily, he was repelled by the resort to force by political institutions. He has in mind the ultimate vision of the perfection of mankind and therefore he is hostile to the modern state which, to him, is a mechanical structure representing organised and concentrated violence. Unlike St. Augustine and other Christian political thinkers, he did not regard political force as the divinely appointed punishment or remedy for the sins of man. Nor did he regard social and political associations and the state as the actualisation and objectivisation of universal reason or the revelations of an all-pervasive Spirit. He is not a conservative historicist so as to identify the existing institutional mechanism with the realised realm of free-will. Neither does he regard the state as being almost the second nature of the individual in the external world. Nor is he an exponent of the servile cult of state omnipotence.

Gandhi argued that there is no element of moral spontaneity in the state. Therefore Gandhi had no love for the organised institutions of political power. He accepted, instead, the worth of the plasticity and spontaneity generated by non-violence. The compulsiveness of the commands of the state leads to the destruction of the plasticity and subtlety of personality. Hence Gandhi said : “ I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress”. This is what a large number of exponents of human security are advocating.

4.3.2 Security vis-à-vis other Disciplines

The second principle is that while setting the borders, there should be just a few simple rules about the way security intersects with the other disciplines involved like humanitarian law, human rights, gender studies etc,. There is so far no sign of inter-subjective agreement on such rules. When does poverty, for instance, become a human security problem? There needs to be some recognisable features of traditional security analysis in the effort to securitise anything. There has to be a present existential or a real future anticipated threat in the field concerned, and the threat should be sufficiently grave for emergency action of an extreme kind to be taken; normal methods should not apply.

In the economic sector, for example, should the possible closure of an industry be treated as a matter of security? The liberal economy treats the rise and fall of the private corporate sector as part of the day-to-day business of life, something which cannot be

securitised, but if a large and important sector is affected, for example if the power supply substantially shuts down, there is a case for securitising. While the inter-subjective process is the basis for threats we may also include the threat to the survival of the collective unit concerned, for example, the minority community, tribe or linguistic group, or to an integral element of their being, such as their economy, culture or way of life. In other words, seasonal water shortages, a temporary fall in the availability of food grains, sporadic incidents of crime and similar problems which are common to many societies also have to be included because they can threaten the existence of vulnerable communities. Another difficult issue is how to prioritize threats, for example, whether the environment should get more attention than poverty, health than education, and so on. These are the key issues on which Gandhi has a definite opinion similar to those expressed by human security experts.

	Traditional Security	Human Security (Gandhian Vision)
Referent	Traditional security policies are designed to promote demands ascribed to the state. Other interests are subordinated to those of the state. Traditional security protects a state's boundaries, people, institutions and values.	Human security is people-centered. Its focus shifts to protecting individuals. The important dimensions are to entail the well-being of individuals and respond to ordinary people's needs in dealing with sources of threats. Man should be the Supreme consideration.
Scope	Traditional security seeks to defend states from external <u>aggression</u> . State security is about a state's ability to deter or defeat an attack. It makes uses of deterrence strategies to maintain the integrity of the state and protect the territory from external threats.	In addition to protecting the state from external aggression, human security would expand the scope of protection to include a broader range of threats, including environmental pollution, <u>infectious diseases</u> , and economic deprivation.
Actor(s)	The state is the sole actor, to ensure its own survival. Decision making power is centralised in the government, and the execution of strategies rarely involves the public. Traditional security assumes that a sovereign state is operating in an anarchical international environment, in which there is no world governing body to enforce international rules of conduct.	The realisation of human security involves not only governments, but a broader participation of different actors, viz. regional and international organisations, non-governmental organisations and local communities.
Means	Traditional security relies upon building up national power and military defence. The common forms it takes are armament races, alliances, strategic boundaries etc.	Human security not only protects but also empowers people and societies as a means of security. People contribute by identifying and implementing solutions to insecurity.

4.3.3 An International Locus

The third principle is that the concept must have an international locus. The promotion of human security in a particular situation should be susceptible to agreement by the international community that has a responsibility in the matter. There is in fact, a widening spectrum of developments which happen in one country but which concern others through a number of ways. For example a conflict or natural disaster in one country spills over to its neighbours and can have international effects. These require international relief efforts, or the work of NGOs or a donor-recipient relationship. But the areas of disagreement are also wide, human rights, refugees, and the use of resources being examples. Hence, two things are required for this international locus. A set of universally acceptable values, and an agreed pattern of implementing international action, through fire-fighting or long term peace building is therefore necessary.

This leads one from nationalism to internationalism. Gandhi was intensely attached to the concept of Indian Nationalism. But he was also an internationalist and always emphasised his role as a citizen of the world. He was a great national leader but was also unsurpassed for his love of humanity. In Gandhi, despite his nationalist preoccupations the dominant concepts were truth, non-violence and purity. Therefore, as a believer in positive love for mankind he believed in internationalism and in the essential unity of man. The South African and Indian politics had been the laboratories in which he “experimented” with his formulae of truth and non-violence which are indeed universal values. There is, thus, indeed, a supreme humanitarian standpoint in Gandhi. He was a great fighter for Swaraj and also considered human welfare to be a matter of greater concern. He fought against the British Empire but he loved the British people. He considered no person to be an enemy because beyond the sovereignty of the nation he looked to the categorical imperative of human brotherhood. He absolutely believed in a union of hearts of all men and women of the world.

Gandhi’s internationalism was only a sociological and political application of the great norm of Ahimsa which means universal non-hatred and non-violence. Buddha and St. Francis showed the tender care for the meanest creatures of the world. Their love extended also to the animal kingdom. Gandhi, like them, believed in the doctrine of absolute and universal compassion for all living beings. A believer in God naturally has the feeling of identity with all creatures because all are the creations of God. Gandhi was never tired of repeating that men could receive divine grace and affection only if they loved their brethren. He said: “We are all tarred with the same brush; we are all members of the vast human family”. Hence love of the human kind was only an aspect of his ahimsa, and internationalism is a concrete means to realise at the political level, the universal love for humanity.

But Gandhi wanted that before cosmopolitanism and internationalism could become a reality, those countries which were still suffering under feudal lordship and colonial dependence should have the political freedom to determine their own future. He, therefore, cried for a halt to the nefarious game of imperial “gangsterism” among nations. Nationalism, though only a stage, was a very important one towards the realisation of internationalism. He asked: “How is this vast mass of humanity to be aflame in the cause of world deliverance, unless and until it has touched and felt freedom”? India had first to be free before she could co-operate on terms of equality with other nations. Therefore, it is clear that Gandhi’s romantic conception of the soul of a nation was not meant as the psychological support to virulent national chauvinism but was only a means to extol the soul of a people against the effective organisations and combinations of imperialistic

power that may attempt to suppress rising nationalism. The units that could form any international union should do that from their own will and this implied the previous attainment of national sovereignty by them. Hence Gandhi wrote: "It is impossible for one to be internationalist without being a nationalist. Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, i.e., when peoples belonging to different countries have organized themselves and are able to act as one man".

In an obvious criticism of the League of Nations based on the concept of the great powers' predominance, Gandhi had written that an international league could really exist, "only when all the nations, big or small, composing it are fully independent"(Gandhi, 1939).

Nationalism would not mark the climax of human security; it was not an end but a stage. He, therefore, stood only for a nationalism that was "health-giving, religious and therefore humanitarian". He felt that Indian nationalism should be a step towards internationalism and human unity. He was also of the opinion that India's freedom could be preserved only if there was "good will towards the whole of the human family."

Gandhi wanted India to be a free nation in order that she could sacrifice herself for the service of mankind. As he wrote: "I want the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country may be utilized for the benefit of mankind. Just as the cult of patriotism teaches us today that the individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the country; even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world. My love, therefore, or nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die, so that the human race may live. There is no room for race hatred there. Let that be our nationalism" (Tendulkar, 1944, p.385).

Nationalism was thus not the pinnacle of human endeavours but was only a stage in the political evolution of man. Through national consolidations it was possible to get over the obstacles of caste, group and local prejudices, conflicts and struggles. Thus nationalism could become a means to political and psychological integration. Once local and sectional hatreds had been consumed by the fire of nationalism, the time would naturally come when the nation would sacrifice itself for the good of the world. Gandhi wrote: "My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general. Therefore, my service of India includes the service of humanity. The whole scheme for the liberation of India is based upon the development of internal strength. It is a plan of self-purification". He wanted that Indian nationalism should mean the development of the national strength of India so that a renovated India could serve mankind. Therefore there could be no place for the pursuit of national interest to the detriment of the legitimate rights of other nations, according to the tenets of Gandhian foreign policy, which believed that the destiny of India lay not in militarisation but in the realisation of the noble mission of friendship and peace in the world. Thus we see that Gandhism teaches the conception of transcendence of narrow, exclusive, aggressive and chauvinistic nationalism and affirms the fundamental proposition that one's good consists in the good of mankind. Gandhi's conception of internationalism, thus, is an effective theoretical counterbalance to the almost blind adherence to the cult of national patriotism and absolute sovereignty which we find in Hegelianism, and fascism. Thus if on the one side he was a trenchant critic of western imperialism and a fighter for "Purna Swaraj", he would refuse to regard the nation-state as the final category in the political evolution of man.

4.3.4 World Federation

Gandhi visualised a plan of human unity to be realised by the federal organisation of friendly interdependent states. He had a great devotion to the noble goal of international co-operation and universal harmony, because, according to him, not to believe in the possibility of “permanent peace” amounts to disbelief in the “Godliness of human nature”. He wanted that permanent peace should be secured. He also pleaded for world order and world federation. He wrote: “Isolated independence is not the goal of the world states. It is voluntary interdependence. The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states warring one against another, but a federation of friendly interdependent states. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence. I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence” (Ibid, p.386).

In a note addressed to Maurice Frydman on 28th July, 1942, Gandhi had asserted his faith in a federally organised world-state: If I can get freedom for India through non-violent means, power of non-violence is firmly established, empire idea dissolves and the World-State takes its place in which all the states of the world are free and equal, no state has its military. There may be a world police to keep order in the absence of universal belief in non-violence.

On July 4, 1947, at a prayer speech, Gandhi visualised that “if by India’s effort such a world federation of free and independent states was brought into being, the hope of the kingdom of God, otherwise called Ram Raj, might legitimately be entertained.”

He agreed that the only condition for the survival of world civilisation was the realisation of world union under one central governing body composed of representatives of the constituent entities. Most probably, Gandhi had in mind the federal pattern for this central governing body.

Gandhi would like the world government to non-cooperate with the lawless, aggressive and recalcitrant forces. But a world police force may be necessary in the beginning. This police force, under the control of the world authority, would exercise its power only as the last sanction when moral and non-violent sanctions had ceased to have effect. This is the ultimate realisation of /for human security. Gandhi’s vision was one of deep international cooperation as opposed to conflict between states.

4.4 RELATIONSHIP WITH DEVELOPMENT

Human security is related to and drawn from the practice of international human development. Traditionally, embracing liberal market economics was considered to be the universal path for economic growth, and thus seen as a measure of development for all humanity. Yet, continuing conflict and human rights abuses following the end of the Cold War and the fact that two-thirds of the global population seemed to have gained little from the economic gains of globalisation led to fundamental questions about the way development was practised. Accordingly, human development emerged in the 1990s to challenge the dominant paradigm of neo-liberal economic capitalist development where the focus was on growth and high gross domestic products. Human development proponents argue that economic growth is insufficient to expand people’s choice or capabilities; areas such as health, education, technology, the environment, and employment should not be neglected.

Human security further enlarges the scope for examining the causes and consequences of underdevelopment, by seeking to bridge the divide between development and security. Too often, militaries did not address the underlying causes of violence and insecurity while development workers often underplayed the vulnerability of development models to violent conflict. Human security springs from a growing consensus that these two fields need to be more fully integrated in order to enhance security for all.

Frances Stewart, an acknowledged authority on the subject argues that security and development are deeply interconnected.

- *Human security forms an important part of people's well-being, and is therefore an objective of development.*

An objective of development is “the enlargement of human choices”. Insecurity cuts life short and thwarts the use of human potential, thereby affecting the reaching of this objective.

- *Lack of human security has adverse consequences on economic growth, and therefore development.*

Some development costs are obvious. For example, in wars, people who join the army or flee can no longer work productively. Wars destroy infrastructure and disrupt normal life and reduces the productive capacity of the economy.

- *Imbalanced development that involves horizontal inequalities is an important source of conflict.*

Therefore, vicious cycles of lack of development which leads to conflict, then to lack of development, can readily emerge. Likewise, virtuous cycles are possible, with high levels of security leading to development, which further promotes security in return. (Stewart, 2004)

In the Gandhian Vision the practice of human development and human security share three fundamental elements:

- First, human security and human development are both people-centered. They challenge the orthodox approach to security and development i.e. state security and liberal economic growth respectively. Both emphasize people as the ultimate ends but not means. Both treat human beings as agents, who should be empowered to participate in the course.
- Second, both perspectives are multidimensional. Both address people's dignity as well as their material and physical concerns.
- Third, both schools of thought consider poverty and inequality as the root causes of individual vulnerability.

Despite these similarities, the relationship with development is one of the most contested areas of human security. The proponents of “Freedom from fear” argue that human security should focus on the achievable goals of decreasing individual vulnerability to violent conflict, rather than broadly defined goals of economic and social development. Others, such as Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, argue that human development and human security are inextricably linked since progress in one enhances the chances of progress in another while failure in one increases risk of failure of another.

The following table is adopted from Tadjbakhsh to help us to understand the Gandhian Vision clearly and clarify the relationship between these two concepts.

Variables	Human Development	Human Security
<i>Values</i>	Well-being.	Security, stability, sustainability of development gains
<i>Orientation</i>	Moves forward, is progressive and aggregate: "Together we rise"	Looks at who was left behind at the individual level: "Divided we fall"
<i>Time Frame</i>	Long term	Combines short-term measures to deal with risks with long term prevention efforts.
<i>General objectives</i>	Growth with equity. Expanding the choices and opportunities of people to lead lives they value.	"Insuring" downturns with security. Identification of risks, prevention to avoid them through dealing with root causes, preparation to mitigate them, and cushioning when disaster strikes.
<i>Policy goals</i>	Empowerment, sustainability, equity and productivity.	Protection and promotion of human survival (freedom from fear), daily life (freedom from want), and the avoidance of indignities (life of dignity).

4.5 RELATIONSHIP WITH HUMAN RIGHTS

Human security has a deep relationship with the human rights tradition (the ideas of natural law and natural rights). The development of the human security model can be seen to have drawn upon ideas and concepts fundamental to the human rights tradition. Both approaches use the individual as the main referent and both argue that a wide range of issues (i.e. civil rights, cultural identity, access to education and healthcare) are fundamental to human dignity. Human security proponents argue that the goal of human security should be built upon and strengthen the existing global human rights. Gandhi was a great advocate of human rights. The whole of Indian freedom struggle waged under his leadership was the struggle for human rights and human security.

4.6 GENDER AND HUMAN SECURITY

Human security focuses on the serious neglect of gender concerns under the traditional security model. Traditional security's focus on external military threats to the state has meant that the majority of threats women face has been overlooked. By focusing on the individual, the human security model aims at addressing the security concerns of both women and men equally. Women are often the worst victims of violence and conflict: they form the majority of civilian deaths; the majority of refugees; and, are often the victims of cruel and degrading practices, such as rape. Women's security is also threatened by unequal access to resources, services and opportunities. Human security seeks to empower women, through education, participation and access, as gender equality is seen as a necessary precondition for peace, security and a prosperous society. This is precisely what Gandhi wanted and has done.

4.7 HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

The application of human security is highly relevant within the area of humanitarian intervention, as it focuses on addressing the deep rooted and multi-factorial problems inherent in humanitarian crises, and offers more long-term resolutions. In general, the term humanitarian intervention generally applies when a state uses force against another state in order to alleviate suffering in the latter state. Human security argues that this intervention should be done only as a last resort when there is ethnic cleansing and genocide. In such cases the international community has the 'Responsibility to Protect' the endangered community when the state has failed.

Under the traditional security paradigm, humanitarian intervention is contentious. The traditional security paradigm places emphasis on the notion of states. Hence, the principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention that are paramount in the traditional security paradigm make it difficult to justify the intervention of other states in internal disputes. Through the development of clear principles based on the human security concept, there has been a step forward in the development of clear rules of humanitarian intervention and the obligations of states that intervene in the internal disputes of a state.

4.8 SUMMARY

The Gandhian Vision of human security can be summed up as under. The protection of individual welfare is more important than the state. If the security of individuals is threatened internally by the state or externally by other states, state authority can be overridden. Addressing the root causes of humanitarian crises (e.g. economic, political or social instability) is a more effective way to solve problems and protect the long-term security of individuals. Prevention is the best solution. A collective understanding of the deeper social issues along with a desire to work together is necessary to prevent humanitarian crises, thereby preventing a widespread absence of human security within a population (which may mean investing more in development projects).

4.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Critically examine Gandhian Vision of Human Security.
2. What is the difference between Traditional and Gandhian Vision of Human Security?
3. Write short notes on :
 - a) Human Security and Human Rights
 - b) Gender, development and Human Security.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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